

## ABSTRACT

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Social entrepreneurship and social enterprise

Paper presentation

The Rise of Social Entrepreneurship in the Black Community of Montreal

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The term “social entrepreneurship” emerged in the USA in the mid nineties. There are two streams of thought. One school of thought focuses on the generation of the “earned income” to serve a social mission, the “social enterprise school”. The other school focuses on establishing new better ways to address social problems or meet social needs( the social innovation school). These two schools of thought began to converge over the last decade around the principle of innovation, public demand for accountability, the search for socially cohesive societies (embedded in the healthy cities concept) and sustainable environments. The concept has been plagued by the multiplicity of definitions of the term, and the lack of a theoretical framework for analysis and testing. In most cases the definition refers to a single person with extraordinary powers, insights, commitments to a cause, endlessly pursuing change (dis-equilibrium) in order to satisfy our insatiable appetite for more and more new goods. From a practical research perspective, finding such an entrepreneur is like looking for a needle in a hay stack. But the entrepreneur has also disappeared from economic theory, ever since Schumpeter created this great “disequilibrater”, and producer of progress by “creative destruction”. To explain this phenomenon ( disappearance) Baumol (2008) introduced the concept of the “third tautology”. Baumol states that “Innovation is an entirely heterogeneous output”. Because the production of whatever is an invention yesterday is mere repetition today. In a sense, the product of an entrepreneurial act becomes part of a unique birth, growth, maturity and decline cycle. But, Entrepreneurship, in and of itself, is not the product of a systematic definable process that lends itself to a prediction analysis. Thus, he concludes that “in any analysis of entrepreneurial activities, there are none of the homogeneous elements that lend themselves to formal mathematical description, let alone the formal optimization analysis that is the formation of the bulk of microeconomic theory”. For this reason, Baumol argues that the entrepreneur is

virtually never mentioned in the modern theory of the firm and distribution. And we suspect the reason that he/she in practice is so rare.

## **The Theoretical Framework**

Baumol is very insightful in drawing our attention to what he calls the “David-Golliath” partnership (Baumol 2008) in the market. This raises serious questions about the necessity for pinning entrepreneurship to a single superior personality, or a giant firm with a huge R & D budget, sending shock waves through the economy. Baumol points to the fact that a critical share of the innovative breakthroughs (new concepts, products) of recent centuries has been contributed by (had their origins with) firms of modest size, then sold or leased to large firms who exploit and develop them and turn them into novel consumer goods that have transformed our lives. It is these inter-dependencies between small and large firms, much more than a single individual’s initiatives or initial impulses, that generates the waves of creative destruction. Thus Baumol shifts the emphasis from the entrepreneur to entrepreneurship process which involves an interaction between small firms and large firms leading to or continuing throughout the development stages of the new product. It is not that smooth explainable movement along some growth path from equilibrium to disequilibrium to equilibrium and so on. It is turbulent. Baumol states that in the real world setting, it is in the turbulence of social, technical and market transformation where we find the entrepreneur, not in the timeless world of perfect competition. It is one of rapid change; monopolistic competition and rivalry in which each firm keeps running as fast as it can to get new products to market but can merely maintain its market share (stand still). Baumol likens the innovation activities (R&D) of these oligopolistic firms to an “arms race”. The competitive structure of the market is such that “no firm in this position can afford to dare to fall behind in the race to create new and better products”<sup>1</sup>, lest they be outperformed and replaced by other firms long before yesterday’s new product reaches its maturity stage. Or long before the organization reaches the maturity stage in its life cycle.

In a recent article published in ARNOVA Occasional series (Vol 1, No.3, 2006) Paul C. Light, raises similar questions with respect to the social entrepreneur. Using a *modus operandi* approach he posed the following questions, what kinds of clues do social entrepreneurs leave as they do their work? How do they operate? What do they emphasize? How do they change over time? He identifies the social entrepreneur by associating him/her with particular attributes and characteristics reflected in his/her actions. He argues that the first and foremost important clue that the social entrepreneur leaves is a commitment to solving significant social problems

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<sup>1</sup> Baumol W, Return of the Invisible M: The Microeconomic Value of Inventors Entrepreneurs, November 2005



through pattern-breaking ideas, even if that commitment is currently on hold due to changing conditions. He states that these pattern-breaking ideas should be visible through actual endeavour, and revealed in the innovative programs or methods for solving a given problem. But he leaves open the concept of what is pattern breaking, making the observation that “some of the most important breakthroughs can involve relatively small adjustments at the front end of a program process that yield dramatic impacts far down the chain of results (Paul Light, 2006)”, Thus he draws on the famous butterfly effect associated with complex systems, the principle of sensitive dependence on the initial conditions to explain unpredictable behaviour and outcomes in our social and economic systems. The second clue is a commitment to sustainable, large-scale impact. He admits of the possibility that scale is open to interpretation, and makes the point that large-scale change has more to do with the idea, not the scale of the organization that holds it. This is consistent with the principle of sensitivity to initial condition. It is the complexity and dynamic nature multiplier effects or the degree of isomorphism, that ultimately determines its full impact. I will interpret this to mean that it depends on the degree of complexity and interdependency in the system. In the context of complexity theory, we may say that the realization of the intended scale of the action will depend on whether the system has the kinds of internal structures and redundancy to enable it to adapt to different levels of complexity and chaos. That is, allows subgroups of species, etc to create sufficient ingenuity that will enable the system as a whole find new fitness levels( higher levels of existence or better life styles).

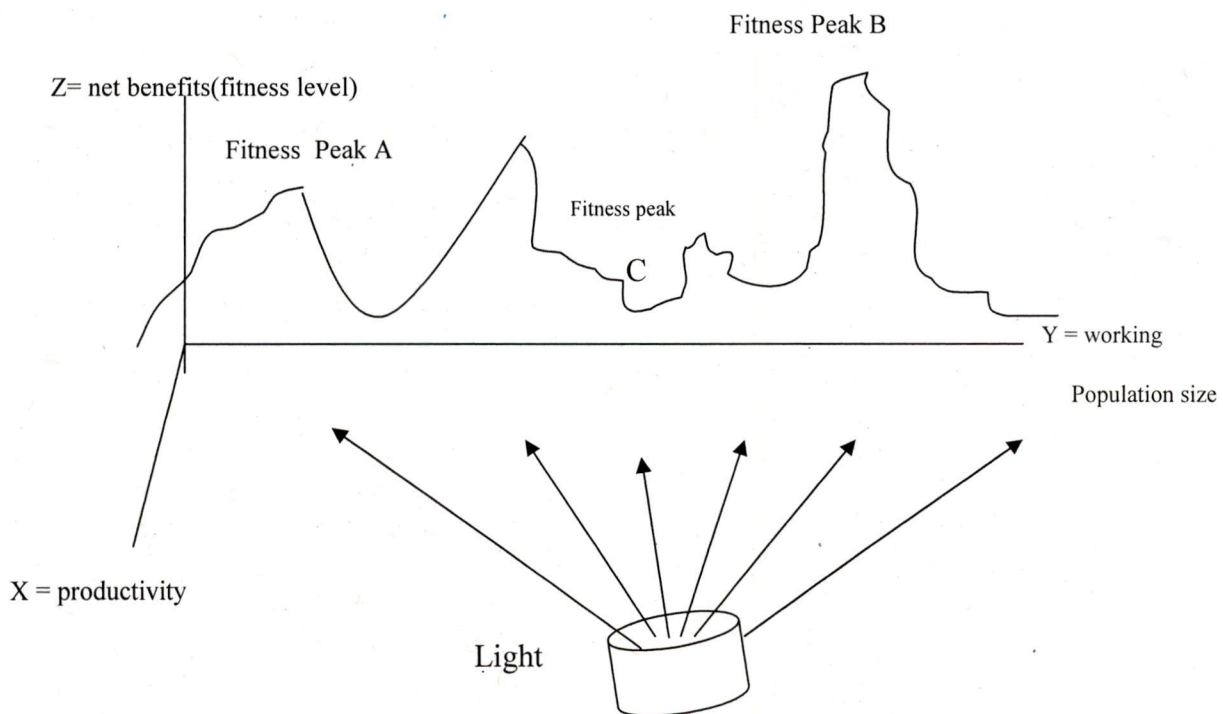
Self organizing and adaptive systems.

Social systems are complex and adaptive and self organizing. We may say that it is inherent in the nature of man to have needs/wants and to organize to meet those needs, and wants. Our will to live and search for purpose triggers a dynamic social and economic response to fill needs, and wants. On the supply side of the equation are our responses to the will to sustain life and live it as we imagine it in Eden, Xanadu, paradise, whatever. These initial responses to the need to sustain life and embellish it with purpose is the entrepreneurial spark that motivates and energizes our actions. Our creativity (Capacity for learning), ingenuity, natural propensities for barter and exchange are powerful tools and capabilities that make it possible for us to produce things to satisfy our needs and wants. Moreover, contrary to classical economic theory, we are not just self satisfying optimizers in a market system competing with equally individualistic profit maximizers. We are also social and spiritual beings that need communities for our survival. But, not only are we dependent on each other psychologically and socially, our production cycles (needs provisioning) and consumption patterns are dependent on and affect the cycles in the natural ecosystems that sustain life. We are globally interconnected in everything that we do.

How do we sustain life and pursue happiness in a changing hostile world made less liveable in our pursuit of happiness? We will draw on the concept of fitness landscape which is at the core

of the new theories used to describe behavior in complex self-organizing adaptive systems<sup>2</sup>. The landscape can be described as relatively smooth undulations or rugged and sharp, marked by canyons, precipices, and high peaks. We may describe the fitness landscape as an environment. It offers a range of possible relationships between a species, organism, society, or other complex adaptive systems and itself. The landscape itself may change depending on the nature of these relationship (the structure of the interdependencies). We may for simplification, portray this as a simple three dimensional system (Diagram 1). It consists of the three following variables, working population size(Y), productivity (X, which is itself dependent on a technology ), and net benefits (the output variable, which is equal to  $F(X, Y)$ , a non-linear function which measures the level of fitness. The functional relationship between the working population and productivity is non- linear. It produces contours of net benefits measured on the third dimension as an output of the system. These contours represent an undulating surface with many valleys and peaks of varying heights or benefit levels. We will define these peaks as fitness peaks. The interface of a slice through this oversimplified three dimensional model is captured in Diagram 1. The diagram is a projection of imagined features of the fitness landscape when a light is shown through the model at a certain angle and from a specified distance. Clearly as we rotate the axes (X, Y) the configurations change.

Diagram 1: Fitness contour



<sup>2</sup> Homer-Dixon, Thomas "The Ingenuity Gap", Vintage Canada, 2000. pp301-9.



The task is that we must attempt to find the best combinations of working population size and productivity ( social and technical ingenuity ) that will produce the greatest net benefits in a given environment (biosphere) and for some predicted level of needs. Since the surface is not a result of simple linear relationships , finding an optimum is what we describe as a “ hard problem”.

Moving around on this landscape, say from fitness peak A to fitness peak B, is not as simple as our three dimension model might suggest. A change in the working population sizes is complex and is not strictly independent of the factors affecting productivity. Population is not a homogeneous factor, nor are its component units necessarily collaborative or complementary. There are many groups searching for positions on the landscape with different agendas. Some agendas are supportive of others, some are in opposition to other groups, or even dedicated to oppress or eliminate other groups. In a general sense, because of the interdependency in the system, strategies used to eliminate one threat could create even worse threats to that group and or other groups. For example, using grain to produce fuel raises the price of food causing starvation and riots in less developed countries, and does not significantly reduce carbon emissions which is a threat to life on earth in general. Searching for a higher fitness level requires the use of a search decision routine<sup>3</sup>. This is a search process that operates by moving over the response surface (fitness landscape) by a set of rules which determine movement from any point on the surface by answering two key questions: what is the next direction of movement? How far should the movement be in the given direction? One has the option of randomly choosing the direction, thus subscribing to chaotic behavior which could spell disaster; one can stay put on a particular fitness peak and stagnate; or one can use a combination of order( a structured approach) and chaos (random or experimental, risk taking ) to find new pathways to higher fitness peaks. The success of the search will depend on the social and technical ingenuity of the search group or some members of the group; and the effective sharing of information (knowledge transfer). A serious difficulty is that increases in the size of working population can have two effects: one being an increase in ingenuity (capacity to solve problems as a result of urban concentration of communication systems and technology), and the second being the tendency to create an ingenuity gap (a short supply of ingenuity compared to the demand for it at any given time). It should also be noted that while increases in technology can cause an increase in productivity, it may also increase the complexity of society faster than the population can produce ingenuity capabilities (Homer-Dixon)<sup>4</sup> to deal with those complexities. There are also forces on dimensions not explicit in our model , that are causing the fitness surface to be constantly shifting and distorting, in part reflecting the negative impact of

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<sup>3</sup> The search decision rule or SDR approach was an approach used in operations planning when the profit surface/hyperspace is understood to be non-linear. Taubert W. H. “The Search Decision Rule: A New Approach to Operations Planning,” 36<sup>th</sup> National Meeting ORSA, Miami, Florida, November 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Homer-Dixon p27

activities on the X-Y plane of our model on the natural cycles in the environments that support and sustain life. The speed and unpredictability of these changes and the urgency of our responses may be widening the ingenuity gap. This could conceivably reduce the rules in any search process to random guessing (Homer-Dixon, p309) in a situation where change is so rapid that the past and the present has little or no information about the future.

Human systems can usually improve their fitness levels in a number of ways. Theorists (Homer-Dixon) argue that those groups that move across hostile challenging landscapes most successfully are those whose internal structures are neither too orderly, nor too chaotic. The most adaptive systems tend to maintain themselves on the cusp between order and chaos. They are random and adventurous enough to strike out in new directions looking for a better life, but conservative and orderly enough to take advantage of improvements once they find them (Homer-Dixon 2000, p305).

Based on the history of Western cultures and society, it would seem that for human systems to explore their landscapes efficiently and effectively, they need to be structured in a way that gives individuals, groups, organizations the freedom to be creative and ingenious; to be motivated to search for alternatives; to store experience and share knowledge and information. There must be a belief system: laws and values which give individuals, households, groups, and organizations the tools and capacities they need to work on solving problems in parallel. The Market system has shown itself to be a powerful mechanism for the creation of new ideas and the provision and distribution of new goods and ideas. It can, under certain conditions, be very responsive to change; and provide the freedom for creative explorations. But as a disintegrated network (*laissez faire*) in which each group acts completely independent of the other, it has frequently failed to be able to supply all the goods, services and ingenuity that are needed and in the amounts necessary to solve the problems of the diverse subgroups at the human scale of their problems, or to satisfy all essential collective needs. Collective action is essential in order to deal with communicable diseases, pandemics, floods, earthquakes, genocide, famine, the provision of clean air and fresh water, the degrading of the life sustaining ecosystems, poverty. Thus subgroups create mechanisms to provide environments of trust, safety, security, reciprocity. These values are essential for finding solutions to collective problems which cannot be solved by the competitive individualism of the market; or the rivalry of monopolistic and oligopolistic competition. This makes the case for the social entrepreneur and perhaps more specifically social entrepreneurship (which does not exclude the involvement of private sector operations).



## **Social Entrepreneurship in action**

It is from this theoretical perspective that we intend to discuss the social entrepreneurial experiences that are associated with the movement of Blacks to Quebec. We will examine their strategies for attaining the highest possible quality of life (fitness peak) in situations and in a topography and historical context that has been described by scholars (Winks 1971, Walker 1980, Alexander and Glaze 1996) and the present Liberal Government of Quebec (Black Entrepreneurship, MDEIE and MCCI 2006) as physically, socially, and economically hostile to their entrance, presence and existence. We will, like Paul Light (2006) broaden the range of situations and the kinds of activity that qualify as entrepreneurial. Thus, for the purposes of this analysis, social entrepreneurship is defined as the responses and actions taken with respect to the failures of society and the technology dependent market system to provide for the fundamental needs and life styles of the group. In western society social entrepreneurship is normally action attributed to nonprofit and non-state agencies, individuals, or networks. A distinguishing characteristic is that the agent is committed to solving the difficult problems of inequality in the distribution of wealth, national and world wide poverty, social injustice, and the threat to life and the planet. These agencies and individuals are capable of responding to our collective needs in a way that profit opportunity seeking agencies (in the structured market sense) cannot or will not. The latter are pre-occupied with the inherent competitive need to produce new goods to replace old or existing goods, and maximize private profits. The former is occupied with offsetting and correcting the negative goods produced by the market, or producing essential public goods, such as social justice, an equitable distribution of wealth, security, health and wellbeing (Bayne, C. S. Cohesion Sociale..., 2002). There is therefore a synergistic relationship between the private and public agencies that is characterized by a division of labour between the production of private goods and services and public goods, including the protection of the planet and life on it. It is in the sense above that I use the following definition of social entrepreneur by Light:

“A social entrepreneur is an individual, group, network, organization, or alliance of organizations that seek sustainable, large scale change through pattern-breaking ideas in what governments, nonprofits, and businesses do to address significant social problems” (ARNOVA, p30).

Chaos stimulates the entrepreneurial spark or survival response. Chaos creates the opportunity for new design, new creations, innovation. In social systems, such as human populations, barriers to movement and entry or resistance to inclusion often creates responses that are chaotic, at many boundary points or interfaces between the established and the new population. Chaos or unpredictability in the normal functioning of the system, may present the opportunity to

be innovative in order to benefit from change, or to avoid disaster or the threats of external forces to the group. In the search for better ways of doing things, or new ways of gaining the higher peaks of fitness, a few may lead the charge, then others follow on their successes adopting their structures and strategies, building and improving on their successes. For example, within each group there are multiple subgroups with a variety of capacities and capabilities and predispositions. Some of these enforce the codes of that culture, set the boundaries that maintain a sense of stability and safety, in a sense, maintain an equilibrium. But there may also be subgroups that seek out other possibilities, outside the boundaries of the group (kinship group), and actively work to enrich or enhance the possibilities for survival in a changed or changing environment. We believe that the emigration of masses of Blacks from the Caribbean, Africa and other parts of the world to Quebec during the sixties through to the eighties created social chaos/ turbulences not unlike those of streams flowing into a large body of water. They entered a socio-economic system that was at best in a tenuous equilibrium in terms of the uneasy balance of the French-English duality, the social disequilibrium created by the quiet revolution<sup>5</sup> within the French community, and the emerging separatist movement. The new Haitian and West Indian populations changed the ethnic balance of Montreal, becoming the largest visible minority group. They replaced the indigenous Black community which occupied a fragile position within the society by virtue of their small numbers and weak infra-structures.

The indigenous Blacks created, but could not sustain organizations, structures and traditions that could satisfy the needs and facilitate the adaptation of the new Black populations in their search to attain higher fitness positions (superior life styles). Existing Black organizations such as the Union United Church, the Negro Community Centre, the UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association), Ferrons Funeral Home, the Elks and various other secret orders: clubs such as Rockheads Paradise and Harlem Nocturne told the story of a community that had adapted to a low level of social and economic accommodation. It was a community chained to the railroads, dead-end factory jobs in the area, the kitchens of Westmount (Diagram 2), and unemployment. They were barred from crossing the boundaries of a society that had established quotas for Blacks and a "colour line" which determined where they would be allowed to live, what jobs they could get, and the degree of participation that they would be allowed in the social and cultural institutions and the decision making processes of the society. It is not that the indigenous Black population had become comfortable with injustice and neglect (life at the low levels of the fitness landscape), for they did develop highly respected radical institutions and agents such as the UNIA, the outspoken Reverend Este of the Union United Church, and the vocal sleeping car porters union fighting for better working conditions and the promotion of

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<sup>5</sup> La revolution tranquille (the quiet revolution). This refers to the fundamental changes that Lesage's Liberals introduced in Quebec almost immediately after taking power in 1960: in his first month alone Lesage announced a project a day. Education was overhauled, Québec's hydroelectricity industry was nationalized, and the power of the Church was quickly dismantled. It soon became clear that the driving force behind these events were a newly ignited sense of nationalism. These were the precursors to the turbulence of the separatist movements and the counter strategies of the Pearson and Trudeau years.



Blacks to better jobs on the rail roads. But the population was too small. Moreover, many sub-groupings saw their role as inculcating and teaching the values of the dominant society (White English speaking), and in a sense being the guardians of that heritage in the community. They saw this as important for acceptance and proving themselves to be capable of belonging. Organizations such as SEPIA Girls, The Montreal Negro Citizenship Association focused on training Blacks to be good citizens and to showcase their good citizenship and social accomplishments and etiquette. The Negro Theatre Guild replicated the Black American theatre traditions exemplified by "Show Boat" and "All Gods Chilun". Theirs was not a theatre of resistance or rebellion, that role was to be played by the Trinidad and Tobago Drama Committee (Black Theatre Workshop), and its presentations of the poetry of Dr Giovanni (Where the State of the Dialogue is at); its plays, the Black Experience, How Now Black Man, etc. The Negro Community Center boasted of its mural portraying a "Coloured" person's hand shaking a "White" person's hand. The Director, a Black member of the community, made it known that the organization welcomed the participation of Black foreign students at the universities, provided that they were not radical Black Power advocates. This was a repressed community, partly because it was neglected, denied access to public resources (appropriate encouragement and education goods), and made to feel the pain of trying to find a way out. It was amazing that in a population of 6000 living less than two miles away from two major universities that in the mid-seventies there were only three Black indigenous students at Sir George and McGill Universities compared with close to a thousand foreign Black students.

It is out of these fractures in the accommodation and adaptation process that social entrepreneurs (individuals, groups, and alliances of groups) began to arise and to organize themselves to solve the social and economic problems the Black communities were facing: to deal with this general marginalization of Blacks. The emphasis is on their response to the social and economic chaos and turbulence, and their commitment to achieve social justice on the largest scale possible. Indeed the entrepreneurial nature of their search for solutions.

### **Case analysis of the Montreal Black Community.**

In 1960, the Canadian Census showed that the Black population of the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Montreal was numbered 6000<sup>6</sup>. This population was concentrated in the Little Burgundy area. Little Burgundy lies in the area between the Lachine Canal in the south and St Antoine street in the north but south of Ville Marie in the down town core of Montreal (see Diagram 2). It stretches from west to east along St Antoine Street and Notre Dame between Courselle to the west and Seigneurs to the east (<http://geodepot.statcan.ca>). In 1961, Blacks numbered approximately 0.2 percent of the Canadian population. By the 2001 census the percentage increased more than tenfold to 2.2 percent. This growth was reflected in the Montreal population where the numbers increased from 6 000 in 1960 to 150, 000 by 2006.

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<sup>6</sup> Census Canada 1960

By 2006, visible minorities<sup>7</sup> represented 26% of the population of Montreal and 16.5% of the CMA with Blacks ranking as the largest visible minority population, and accounting for 7.7% of the City's population and 4.7% percent of the population of the CMA ( Table I). Almost the entire Black population is now concentrated on the Island of Montreal, but are distributed throughout its 27 Arrondissements (administrative districts) that make up the island. To put it into dramatic relief, the population increased 25 fold between 1960 and the 2001 Census. This growth has been the result of immigration mainly from the English speaking Caribbean throughout the sixties and early seventies. But from the seventies onward the dominant source of Black immigrants shifted to Haiti. There are now approximately 70 000 Blacks of Haitian origin in Montreal as compared to 42 000 Blacks of West Indian, African and other origins. Thus, the Black population of Montreal is predominantly foreign born. They come from different places, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, South America (including Guyana), St Vincent, Grenada, Haiti, Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, etc). They did not know each other before their arrival, in the sense that they came from different countries. Perhaps their only common bound was their symbolic and, in some cases, tenuous identification with Africa. In the end, a more unifying factor would be that the White host populations defined them as coloured people or negroes and assigned them a lower status in the society. This classification constituted the first line of conflict between the White classes and the new comers who preferred to be called "Black" or by their "country of origin". Soon their preferences became a defiant demand for "freedom now" as they moved to stake out their claims (search for higher levels of fitness) in the North American landscape. But this would not be the only fault line or boundaries of instability. There were fractures within the group along the boundaries of country of origin, and between the groups classified as foreign born and those classified as Canadian-born Blacks.

In our three dimensional model, the Trinidadian, the South American, the Barbadian, the Jamaican, the Haitian would see their respective countries as valleys of low fitness (extremely hostile to sustaining higher levels of economic life and lifestyles), compared to Canada that would see as a landscape dotted with high fitness peaks (offering a better economic future and life styles). In fact, the Canadian immigration promoted Canada as a land of opportunity, tolerance, and harmony in diversity (a star in the North). When these diverse streams of Black immigrants had solved the problems of reaching the foothills of Canadian fitness peaks, turbulences developed, not unlike what one would expect when many tributaries join a river at various rates and points along the river; or flow into a large body of water. These turbulences were the challenges that inspired action of an entrepreneurial nature, in the sense that they created the necessity for changes in the attitudes of policy makers, employers, educational institutions, and the citizens of Montreal and Quebec: they would push the system towards new accommodations, new equilibrium points, or different configurations of the net benefit surface: street carnivals, protest marches for democratic rights, new menus, new hair styles, mix marriages, a new literature, a new theatre and dance, etc.

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<sup>7</sup> A visible minority is someone who identifies as not being Caucasian or North American Indian.



The newcomers soon realized that the landscape was more hostile than they had envisioned from their points of origin. They came face to face with what Robin Winks (Blacks in Canada, Chapter 10, 1971) and other historians in Canada described as the colour line, a set of principles based on racial prejudices against Blacks embedded in the belief system of Canadian ruling classes. Winks noted that while racism of the type practiced in the United States was not present in Quebec, Blacks faced discrimination and were treated at best with benevolent neglect. In Canada, Blacks were valued for their labour input to jobs that Whites did not want. But they were not taken seriously as participants in the democratic and decision making processes of the society. Getting beyond the lower rungs of the totem pole (climbing up to the highest fitness peak) would prove very arduous.

The newcomers found their earning power quickly falling behind Whites<sup>8</sup> and becoming the principal victims of Canada's systemic discrimination and racism rolled into the colour line. The Canadian historian Walker (1980, p77) described the situation as follows, "no Canadian group better illustrates the limited and vertical nature of the Canadian mosaic than the Blacks. Their history is full of ... restrictions and limitations, with the results most often expressed in economic terms...it is not a coincidence that black Canadians have occupied the lowest rungs in the economic ladder throughout most of our history." These new comers would be no exception. But there would be important differences: the numbers and the technical and social ingenuity of the groups differed significantly from that of the indigenous Blacks. They brought with them skills gained in their successful struggle against colonialism in the Caribbean and elsewhere: they came from the Caribbean, South America, and from parts of Africa that had cast off colonial rule during the late fifties and early sixties. They had learned the techniques of successful rebellion and "struggle." They were attuned to the voices of Eric Williams, Norman Manley, Bosta Mante, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, C. L. R. James, Nelson Mandela, Malcom X, Bob Marley, etc

Many of the Blacks that came to Canada in the sixties and seventies were students at its Universities that stayed after graduation, or educated Blacks who worked as teachers, civil servants, technicians in their countries of origin before emigrating to Montreal, Quebec. The immigration point system<sup>9</sup> ensured that only the best qualified immigrants were allowed landed status. This fact is reflected in the figures of Canada Census 1981, which showed that in terms of the educational attainment of Canadians from kindergarten to university English speaking

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<sup>8</sup> Bayne, C. S. "Social and Economic Profile of the Black Community in Montreal," 1990, Table 5 p25. This table obtained from Census 81 Canada, shows average salaries for all Quebecers in 1981, and the periods 1946-60, 1961-70, 1971-81. In 1946 and in the period 1946-60, the Caribbean ethnic groups (with the exception of Guyana and Barbados) earned incomes substantially higher than the provincial average and greater than that of the White ethnic groups. However after 1960 their earnings declined significantly below the average for Quebec while that of the White ethnic groups increased substantially above the average.

<sup>9</sup> The 1967 immigration regulations introduced a point system that stipulated that all immigrants, irrespective of their country of origin, were to be assessed on the following factors: their education and training; personal assessment by an immigration officer; arranged employment (or designated occupation); knowledge of English and French; relative in Canada; employment opportunities in the area of destination.



West Indians and Haitians were comparable with all other groups. That is, the new Black populations were not likely to be worse than other ethnic groups in education attainment, and were better than the Quebec population as a whole<sup>10</sup>. Thus their expectations were higher, their capacity for solving problems were at least equivalent to the overall Canadian born population, and they were as productive. Thus they were less likely to accept the "colour line" that was a pervasive and repressive influence on the aspirations of Montreal born/ "indigenous" Blacks. It operated across the areas of education, place of residence, the job market, social clubs, etc to keep them anchored to the low fitness areas( Fitness peak C, Diagram 1.) of the landscape.

Moreover, the voices of these newcomers echoed the shifts in world and Canadian social philosophy and values . These changes would reinforce their questioning of the barriers to their search for greater advantages for Blacks on the fitness landscape. In Canada, pressure from the new Commonwealth of Nations had pushed the Diefenbaker government into passing a new Bill of Rights(1960). That Bill rejected discrimination based on race, colour, religion, sex and national origin. It helped to hasten the continuous movement away from the old vertical Mosaic often likened to a totem pole, carved by English Canada , with British values and traditions at the top, and with all other cultures in inferior positions, with the indigenous peoples, Blacks, and Asiatics at the bottom<sup>11</sup> . Thus the hostility of the landscape was being reduced in some ways for all classes of Canadians. At the same time, the new Black populations quickly seized the opportunity to participate in the debate in Multiculturalism and Canadian nation building. The Black student population at McGill and Sir George served notice that they were not prepared to be defined out of existence by "biculturalism"<sup>12</sup>. They questioned the myth of "Star of the North" and queried Canada's liberalism. In an issue of *Expression* (A Black Quarterly) the editorial read "Canadian Liberalism: Fact or Fiction" (Special Conference Issue 1968). They joined the ranks of other immigrant groups to reject the concept of Canada as the creation of two settler

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<sup>10</sup> Bayne, c.s. "Social and Economic Profile of the Black Community in Montreal," Monograph prepared for City of Montreal, 1990. Table 7, p29

<sup>11</sup> Palmer, Howard Reluctant Hosts: Anglo\_Canadia. "Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century", Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, February 13-15, 1976, pp81-118.

<sup>12</sup> The **Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism** was established on July 19, 1963, by the government of Canada to "inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution". The bicultural aspects met with serious rejection from French Quebec and other groups of non-British origins. Biculturalism was replaced by multiculturalism in the Trudeau declaration of Canada as a multicultural nation and officially bilingual (English and French). Quebec continues to reject the concept of multiculturalism in preference to the concept of inter-culturalism.



Nations (the French and the English). We argue that in the early sixties the stage was set for social entrepreneurial action. What form did it take?

### **The creation of new dynamic organizations.**

Between 1960 and the mid seventies a large number of dynamic new organizations were established by the newcomers (West Indians). Key among these organizations were the Jamaican Association of Montreal, The Barbados Police Association (now replaced by the Barbados House/Association), the Trinidad and Tobago Association of Montreal, Guyana Cultural Association of Montreal, the Montreal Canadian Social Organization, The St Kitts, Nevis Anguilla Association, The St Lucia Cultural Association of Montreal. Initially, these organizations waved their own Island flags, and developed their own independent approaches (search decision rules) to adaptation to the Montreal/Quebec landscape. In fact they rivaled each other in their search for resources, and recognition. Their main roles were, with some significant exceptions,<sup>13</sup> to deal with immigrant settlement issues (access to schools, places of worship, shopping, health care services, immigration and other services, entertainment, etc). They provided emotional safety for their members, a sense of cultural values and practices, and the preservation of ties with home (country of origin). But at a time when colonialism was crumbling in Africa, the Black Power movement was on the march in the USA, and the discourse on rights and freedoms and the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution was high on the Canadian agenda, these organizations began to converge around common interests but within the Canadian context. The single most common problem they faced was systemic discrimination and racism that denied them jobs, recognition and a say in Canadian democratic process(acceptance and influence).

*Local strategies.* A debate ensued internal to the Caribbean communities that questioned the relevance of the individualism of the Island approach to dealing with a White imposed "colour line" that made no distinction between the members of the subgroup based on place of origin or what "slave" language they spoke. The Individual Black associations approach was severely criticized by those who espoused a general Pan-Africanist approach. Carl Whittaker a declared Pan-Africanist and the founder of the Black Community Council of Quebec used terms such as Bajanism<sup>14</sup> to speak of the Barbados Association, and classified all such Island associations as

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<sup>13</sup> The Trinidad and Tobago Association was committed from its inception to the creation of a larger West Indian coalition of organizations, and worked with the Jamaica Association to establish such an arrangement in the late sixties. It should be noted that it created a Caribbee soccer team that included players from all the islands; and the Black Theatre Workshop that addressed the needs of all Black artists. It played the central leadership role in the organizing of the Conference of Black Canadian Organizations that lead to the creation of the National Black Coalition of Canada.

<sup>14</sup> An Interview of Carl Whittaker , Executive Director of the Black Community Council of Quebec. *Focus*, Volume 1, No.1 June 1982 pp 5, 10.

jingoistic arrangements that fragmented the community. The search for identity was fractious, involving the emerging Pan-Africanists and the leadership of the Island associations. The debate broadened the narrow nationalism of the individual Island groups into a loose communication network of Caribbean groups rich in information. The struggle resulted in an accommodation between the two sets of leadership: a division of labour. It was generally agreed that the island associations would take responsibility for the settlement and culture specific aspects of their members, and for matters that linked them to their countries of origin. But it was conceded that the emergent Black or Pan-African groupings of the population would take care of matters affecting the group as a collective (by self-definition, Black). Consensus was reached through community conferences, workshops, family meetings (only Blacks allowed), in debates at university Black students meetings, church halls; by the distribution of posters, pamphlets and the effective use of community journalism in newspapers and magazines such as Expression Magazine, Uhuru, Umoja, Focus Magazine, The Black I Magazine, the New World Magazine, Kola magazine, Afro-Canadian and Community Contact, that circulated in the community in the period 1975 -85 ( Bayne, National Archives, MG 31, H 181, Vol 2-5, Ottawa, 1991).

In 1968, the Conference dates October 11 to 14 would normally have been occupied by a conference organized by the Caribbean students of McGill and Sir George Williams University. But instead that conference was renamed the Conference of Black Organizations of Canada, and it took place two weeks earlier. It was forced to yield its dates to the Black Writers Conference. There are two important things to note here. One, renaming the conference, the Conference of Black Organizations of Canada meant that the Caribbean leadership and organizations of Montreal had turned their attention to the pursuit of a better life within Canada. It also meant that they refused to be put in a second class position to the pure interest of the Black American agenda. The Black Writers Conference brought to Montreal Black audiences some of the world's most renowned and erudite Black activists.<sup>15</sup> These world leaders spoke to our souls as the Trinidad scholar Lloyd Best and Winston Franco ( a Trinidadian living in Montreal) noted.<sup>16</sup> But the speakers left and, as Bayne<sup>17</sup> had predicted earlier in the year, the dust settled on a coalition of Blacks across the country and their commitment to reconstruct the Canadian mosaic and make it more inclusive. The Conference of Black Organizations called on Blacks and all Canadians to re-examine the Mosaic and make it more reflective of Canada's diversity.

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<sup>15</sup> C.L. R. James the author of "Black Jacobins"; Stokely Carmichael a Black Power activist and author of the book "Black Power"; Harry Edwards of the Black Panthers; James Foreman of SNCC

<sup>16</sup> Best, Lloyd, and Franco, Winston "Two Views of the Conference of Black Writers" Expression: special conference issue, Winter, 1968. Pp 33-38; pp 41-45.

<sup>17</sup> Bayne, c. S. as the Chair of the Conference Committee for the Conference of Black Canadian Organizations had said at a meeting at the downtown Montreal YMCA ( Spring 1968) with the organizers of the Black Writers Conference( Rosvelt Douglas, Raymond Watts and others) that he would under duress agree to yield the Labour Day weekend to the Black Writers Conference, but that he would not join their ranks. His exact words were "when the dust settles and Stokeley, James (C.L.R.) and other retreat to other world stages we will be here and we will have something concrete, a national body to represent Black Canadian causes".



The Black Writers Conference and its local representatives took a world view. They wanted to destroy world capitalism (Expression 2006).

It is important to note that the Conference of Black Canadian Organizations did not only bring Black leaders together from across the country for the first time ever, but it brought Canadian born Blacks and West Indian born Blacks together, and it was done, as Howard McCurdy noted,<sup>18</sup> by West Indians in Montreal. This represented a major shift in the local fitness optimization strategies of Blacks in Quebec. By 1969 the National Coalition of Canada was established at a Conference in Toronto...to coordinate the efforts of Black organizations across the country for concentrated effect and mutual support. This was also a time when the old traditional leadership at the Negro Community Center (NCC) was being challenged to adopt a more aggressive approach to the search for the rights and freedoms of all Blacks in Quebec. This transformative process led to the creation of the Black Community Council of Quebec, first conceived in 1972 but obtaining its charter in 1982. It boasted a membership of 14 non-profit organizations that served all Blacks in the City on the basis of their being Black by self-identification. The scope of the planning in the Black community had expanded beyond the boundaries of Little Burgundy to embrace all of Montreal, and in its intent to embrace the causes of Black outside of Montreal and Quebec. It involved an expanded network of organizations and was prepared to take risks with new approaches to leadership and organizing.

By 1968, it was clear that several subgroups among the newcomers were experimenting with risky search decision rules to explore the Quebec fitness surface. Some of these search decision rules may be characterized as extreme and significant in their implications. From the university campuses came the cry for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, change through the barrel of the gun (Maois) or by any means necessary (Malcom X), but change now. However, from the community and Black households came the voices of incrementalism. They adopted the more classical approach to introducing and managing change: the re-adaptation of society through incremental responses to jolts to the system, a peaceful even if not harmonious transformation (Ghandi and King forms of non-violent struggle or civil disobedience). We were standing at the boundaries of stability and chaos (disorder). In February 1969, West Indian Students at Sir George Williams University supported by some local Blacks of West Indian parentage and a number of White activists destroyed the computers and the computer center at the Sir George campus. They did this in response to their belief that they were the victims of racism in the class room and the system, and to make the point that Blacks would no longer tolerate racism. This sent shock waves through Montreal, its Black community, and Canadian society. It was in sharp contrast to the search rules that were being constructed by NBCC and its new activist group in Montreal (Members of the new Coalition), as well as the slow pace of change being adopted at the Negro Community Center (NCC). In general, the new activist community groups refrained from publicly criticizing the student action. But while inside the community they gave

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<sup>18</sup> McCurdy, H "Problems of involvement In the Canadian society with reference to Black people", Expression Winter, 1968. P 14.

psychological support to the students, the leadership moved to ensure that students would never act in that way again without extensive community consultation. This action sharpened the sense of urgency with which the new directions had to be found by the Black community non-student leadership.

The Canadian landscape is very large and extremely complex. It proved complex beyond the amount of ingenuity and most important the resources available for the newly established National Black Coalition (NBCC) to carry out its national mission. It became necessary to break up into provincial sub-groupings, even municipal units, in order to more effectively search for higher fitness peaks. This in itself was a turbulent process, resulting in the resignation of several presidents of the NBCC. However, the NBCC created a national network of mutual support and information sharing, and achieved some interesting results. It had a significant impact on the hiring and promotion of Blacks in the Federal Civil service, and intervened in several cases of unjust treatment of Blacks across the country. It is generally believed that Rosemary Brown's early work with the organization inspired her to become a member of the legislature in British Columbia. It may have been the reason that Howard McCurdy, first president of the organization, also became a member of the parliament of Canada; that Jean Augustine who was an active member of the organization joined the Liberal Party of Canada, and rose to the rank of a minister. It is believed that these successes inspired Marlene Jennings of Montreal to become a Liberal MP of Canada; and the youthful Yolande James MNA Quebec and Minister for Cultural Communities and Immigration. These persons have successfully explored existing channels to position themselves where they were able and continue to move information and exert influence at strategic vantage points (fitness peaks) on the landscape (beacons so to speak).

#### The Pan-African approach: a break with old practices

From the early seventies to the end of the eighties we begin to see a stream of new organizations focusing on problems of Blacks as residents/citizens of Montreal and Quebec. The Black Community Council of Quebec (BCCQ) and its outreach programs came into existence in the early seventies (1972). It boldly proclaimed that it served the entire Black community of Quebec. Membership in this federation was open to any Black or African person or affiliate organization, but specifically excluded membership on the basis of place of origin, religion, gender. This was a complete break with the practices of the pre-1970s individualistic Island – Nation approach. By the mid 1980s the outreach programs of BCCQ were becoming independent regional agencies serving Blacks in their respective arrondissements or administrative districts: the NDG Black Community Association, the Cote des Neiges Black Community Association, the La Salle Black Community Association, the Laval Black Community Association, the South Shore Black Community Association, and the West Island Black Community Association. All these organizations provided an organized forum on a



regional basis for the discussion of the problems of that community and to stimulate broad-based involvement in the search for solutions. They also formed a communication network between themselves and with other agencies and public bodies, thus increasing the flow of services and resources from the City and municipal departments to households in their communities. They themselves provided a wide range of front line family services, and engaged Black families in the discussion of community economic development strategies.

In addition, a number of Pan-African or Black organizations have come into being as specialist agencies also claiming to serve the entire Black community: providing information and help in economic development, training in the management of NGOs, providing anti-racist and civic action, race-relations, access to the job market. Some of these are the National Black Coalition of Quebec, CRRAR, The Black Studies Center, the Black Theatre Workshop of Montreal, The Garvey Institute, Montreal Association of Black Business Persons and Professionals (MABBP), The Quebec Board of Black Educators, and the Black Community Resource Center. These agencies are found at the boundaries and interfaces of the operations of mainstream society. Their existence are reflections of the responses of subgroups in the Black community to the chaotic conditions created in their communities as a result of the structural rigidities or the linearities in the social and economic arrangement of mainstream society. In many instances it was necessary to force the existing system to find new ways to think and do things differently. A perfect case is the English Montreal School Board adopting a multicultural approach to education and restructuring its administration to provide services specific to the needs of the Black and other multicultural and diverse populations. The search decision rules used by the Quebec Board of Black Educators acting on behalf of the Black Community was aggressive, but restrained in action and initiatives by virtue of all parties reaching agreement on the rules of negotiation; and having some common understanding of the limits to the rate of change. Moreover, the ingenuity capacity and capabilities of the sub-group (QBBE) was very high because it recruited specialists/experts from its community ( teachers, professors and administrators in the field of education), persons who had acquired the research tools to explore the benefit surface of this particular sector of the landscape.

### **The QBBE as an Innovator**

The creation of the Quebec Board of Black Educators represents a major entrepreneurial initiative in terms of its scale and the social nature of its commitment: correcting the under-representation of Blacks in higher education in Quebec, and improving the level and quality of educational attainment for Black youth. Its beginning cannot be traced to a single person (a social entrepreneur), but rather to a group of activist students at McGill and Concordia (the Black students associations) and a group of Black teachers of Trinidad and Jamaican origins employed by the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM). Essentially this was a

specialist sub-group of the West Indian Black communities of Montreal, engaging in social entrepreneurship in the education sector. The scale of the group's mission was to eliminate the "colour line" from the labourforce for teachers; and to remove all barriers against the advancement of the education of Black child in the Montreal school systems; to move Black on to CEGEPS and university, and help to integrate them into the society and economic life of Quebec and Canada. Bayne, Edina and Bayne, C. S. in a paper titled "The Quebec Board of Black Educators, an Innovator: etching education success" (1995, revised December 2005) wrote:

*"The Black population was experiencing growth during a time in which the Quiet Revolution was taking place. This revolution which commenced in 1960, in a period of economic prosperity, was responsible for extensive educational reform in the years that followed: The Grand Charte de l'Education - 1960, The Parent Commission - 1966; The Creation of the first CEGEP (Colleges d'enseignement général et professionnel) - 1967, The first public University (Université du Québec) - 1969. The Implications of these changes for the general population did not necessarily hold true for the Black community. With these changes taking place in the education system, the QBBE took on the role of a broker, and seized the opportunity to negotiate with the CEGEPS at their very inception. The timing was right. While acting as a bridge with the universities and CEGEPS, it became obvious that there was a need to do something about the school system itself. Showing a keen sense of timing and persistence in pursuing its objectives, the QBBE succeeded in finalizing agreements with the PSBGM as well as with the CEGEPS, thus establishing some of the partnerships for the DaCosta Hall summer School( P6) ".*

Thus, the QBBE dramatically changed the way that the Black community would represent its education needs to the School Board, and it created a voice in education for Blacks in the Province (Ministry of Education). Its 17 point agreement with the PSBGM ( recently renewed) caused extensive structural changes in the entire English Montreal school system. Largely because of this the PSBGM introduced a multicultural approach to delivering its services to its various communities. It established multi-cultural /multi-racial advisory committees, created a department of community services responsible for the training of teachers in the delivery of a multicultural education, got firm agreements to increase the number of Black teachers, administrators, and the hiring of a Black psychologist, and a community officer. It got signed agreements to run accredited summer schools (The DaCosta – Hall Summer program) and approval from the Ministry of Education, Government of Quebec to offer credits through its affiliation with the PSBGM for its summer school courses. It negotiated and got facilities and space provided free by a large inner-city college (Dawson College). Its summer school program has provided remedial and enrichment services for Black and other ethnic students, with attendances fluctuating each summer between 300 and 600 students over the last 35 years (Annual Reports of the DaCosta-Hall and Bana Programs, QBBE, 2000-2006). It is believed that the concept of remedial summer classes in the PSBGM/EMSB was copied from the QBBE initiatives and the success of its summer schools.



## **The Colour Line Persists**

The stubborn and debilitating nature of the color line in the labour market. The color line continues to persist, and to consume the energy and meager resources of all the Black organizations in the French speaking Antilles (Haitian, Martinique, Guadeloupe, etc), the English Speaking Black and the African communities of Quebec (and Canada). Unemployment of Blacks have remained unacceptably high, approximately twice times as high as the provincial average from one census period to the next. At the 1981 census, unemployment in the Haitian labour force was 20.6 percent and for the West Indian labour force 15.1 percent compared to 8.3 percent for the working population of Quebec (Statistics Canada, Census 1981). Subsequent Censuses have shown no change (McGill Consortium, 2001). In fact, for Census 2001 unemployment for the Black communities was 17.1 percent as compared with 8.2 percent for Quebec. Moreover, 57.3 percent of the Black workforce was employed only part of the year as compared with 46.6 percent for the Province. It is not surprising therefore that 9.9 percent of the Black population 15 years and over were without income as compared with 5.6 percent for the population 15 years and over for the Province (Table 2). This raised disturbing questions around racism in the workforce and the society, given the fact that the educational attainment of Blacks were generally comparable with, and in some instances better than the population as a whole (Bayne C. S. 1990, 1992.; *Entrepreneuriat au sein...*, 2006; McGill Consortium, 2001).

The three communities have made persistent and joint representations to the City and the Provincial government seeking legislation against racism in the work place; and regulations ensuring equal access to jobs. In January 1990, 250 Blacks representing almost every organization in the community met and presented a Black agenda to the City of Montreal (Bayne 1990, 1992). They pointed out the contradictions between the similarity in the educational attainment of Blacks compared with the population of Quebec as a whole, yet the persistently high unemployment of Blacks compared with Whites remains. In July 1992, 75 organizations from the English speaking Black Communities met at Val Morin to design an agenda for community development. Among other things, they wanted to reduce the competition between themselves for Government funding, create a united voice when making their demands to all levels of Government. The organizations agreed to work within their missions and mandates for which they received a broad-based community approval. The Forum requested and entered a partnership with the Provincial Liberal government. A table de consultation was established consisting of representatives from the Government and selected community representatives who acted as liaisons and channels of information for the network of community-based "tables" created to work on problems of education, arts and culture, family services, and economic development and employment. In 1993, the Provincial Government in consultation with the community representatives created the Mathieu DaCosta Foundation, giving it a mandate to provide loans for new businesses in the French and English Black communities (Alexander, 2003). It is believed that this partnership influenced the decision of



the Federal Government to work with the English speaking community to establish the Black Community Resource Center (1995). The BCRC mission is based on a holistic approach to community development, addressing the problems of employability and youth development; as well as assisting the development of community based organizations. Errors on both sides (Government and Community) resulted in the failure of the Mathieu DaCosta Foundation. But the issue here is the collective and persistent nature of the search by the Black leadership and organizations for higher levels of fitness on a shifting landscape. The three communities approached the City again in 2003 with a united voice protesting the failure of the City to make significant progress in the diversification of its hiring, and more specifically the hiring of Blacks. The City set up a Black Taskforce which presented its recommendations in December 2003. But these recommendations were sent to the newly formed boroughs for their approval and participation. Unfortunately, the response was discouragingly weak. The process fizzled.

In 2004, faced with the dismal and embarrassing evidence of the Census statistics on unemployment in the Black communities, and the convincing case made by scholars from McGill University (McGill Consortium 2001) and Black leaders pointing to racist biases against Blacks in hiring (City of Montreal Black Task Force, 2003), the Provincial Government set up a Black task force under the responsibility of the recently elected young Black MNA Yolande James. Its role was to consult with the Black populations and find ways to solve the difficult problems relating to the integration and full participation of Blacks in the social, democratic and economic processes of Quebec. There is significant evidence that Blacks need to participate more on the supply side of the market (Bayne 2005; Alexander, N Community Forum, 1992 and Black Entrepreneur Task Force Submission, Alexander, 2005). Thus the task force turned its attention to developing strategies for encouraging Blacks to start businesses as a solution to chronic unemployment in the community, and to assist existing Black businesses in financing their growth. What is interesting here again is that a task force on entrepreneurship was set up consisting of representatives of selected organizations in all three Black communities to advise the Provincial Government on a strategy and to monitor the implementation process. The strategy is two-fold. One, to encourage Blacks, especially youth, to choose business as a career option and as a means to reduce unemployment in their communities. Two, to assist start up businesses by providing easier access to financial resources; and to make recommendations on the best ways to assist existing Black businesses to expand. The marketing, promotion, accompanying and referral aspects of the strategy have been allocated to three Black organizations, one in each of the communities. They were chosen by a "blind process". A fund (Fonds Afro-Entrepreneurs (2008)) has been set up based on funds contributed by the Provincial Government and a Private financial partner (Filaction). The capitalization of the fund is \$1 million dollars. It will make loans of \$5 000 up to \$25 000 to small enterprises in the Black communities. This Fund effectively replaces the failed Mathieu DaCosta Foundation.

This author has made severe criticisms against the Government's implementation process. This author argues that the process fails to encourage and promote the development of professional



financial institutions within the English speaking Black Community. It also frustrates ongoing initiatives in the English speaking Black community to develop its capacity for business teaching and coaching, using university expertise, resources, and partnerships. Also the Provincial government's choice of a family frontline community based organization as the interface organization backed by a White controlled agency specializing in entrepreneurship has created division and disharmony between some organizations. In terms of the amount of financial assistance, some would even say that it is easier to use a credit card to generate a loan of \$5000 up to \$30 000, than to go through the routines of developing a business plan and defending it. But again, for the purposes of this paper our focus is on the persistent work of many sub-groups working in parallel, challenging and engaging different levels of Government to act, to use its influence and power to intervene in the market to help the community find long term solutions to "obstacles faced by Quebecers from the Black communities in order to facilitate their full participation in Québec society." The action is collaborative and collective. It is also important to note the scope of this initiative. It cuts across spheres and jurisdictions. It involves agents in the private sector and the government of Quebec as providers (donor agents), and key ( even if in some cases inappropriate ) community based Black organizations as distributor agents. The main intent of the requesting agents (community organizations) is to address structural economic weaknesses in the Black community and help to improve its contributions to the larger economy and its employment of members of the Black community. In its intent, the scope is large even if the size of the funds involved at this time is quite small relative to the need. This makes it entrepreneurial in the Paul Light and this author's sense of social entrepreneurship.

## Conclusion.

The cases presented above illustrate the impact of social entrepreneurship. Organizations, networks of individuals, alliances that were and continue to be committed to correcting the poverty imposed on Blacks by their exclusion from the democratic decision making processes of Quebec and Canadian society; that continue the struggle against the color line used to systematically prevent Blacks from rising to the top level jobs during times of "boom", and eliminate them from even the low paying menial jobs during times of "bust". Their initiatives are innovative, requiring high degrees of ingenuity to gain entry to systems essential to attaining and sustaining acceptable life styles. They have been bold in their approaches, choosing to transform society by their actions rather than be assimilated. They chose to be Black, Haitian, African-Canadian but not to be coloured or Negro. For these reasons, they have been the stubborn supporters of multiculturalism. They have been the ardent supporters of the just society, and culture specific approaches to service delivery. In Montreal or Quebec, there is no name such as Martin Luther King, or Malcom X or Marcus Garvey that jumps out of the bag of leaders, because the search has been one involving committees and groups of persons. All the organizations referred to above have charters, constitutions, missions, hold meetings on a monthly or regular basis, consult and negotiate. Some individuals may have been and are influential in their own rights but by and large it is the organization that has been the instrument

of change in the Black community. Most important, it is the culture of networking between themselves and at times the capacity to close ranks , notwithstanding their internal rivalries, that continue to characterize the community that they have created. In short, the history of the development and progress of the Black Community of Montreal is not that of the social entrepreneur, but rather that of a social entrepreneurial process involving some quite exceptional and persistent individuals.



TABLE 1

Visible Minorities in Montreal (2006)			
Visible	<u>City of</u>	<u>Montreal</u>	<u>Montreal</u>
Visible	26%	25%	16.5%
Black	7.7%	7.1%	4.7%
Arab	4.3%	4.1%	2.8%
Latin	3.4%	3.1%	2.1%
South Asian	3.2%	3.3%	2%
<u>Chinese</u>	3%	3%	2%
Southeast	1.9%	1.8%	1.3%
<u>Filipino</u>	1.1%	1.1%	0.7%
West Asian	0.5%	0.6%	0.4%
Multiple	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%
Korean	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%
Not	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%
<u>Japanese</u>	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%

Source:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics\\_of\\_Montreal#Visible\\_Minorities](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Montreal#Visible_Minorities);  
 Statistics Canada(2002), Selected ethnic  
 origins for Census sub-divisions,  
 retrieved on 2007-02- 22.

TABLE 2.

**Table 7: Black communities in Québec  
Economic characteristics  
(population 15 years and over)**

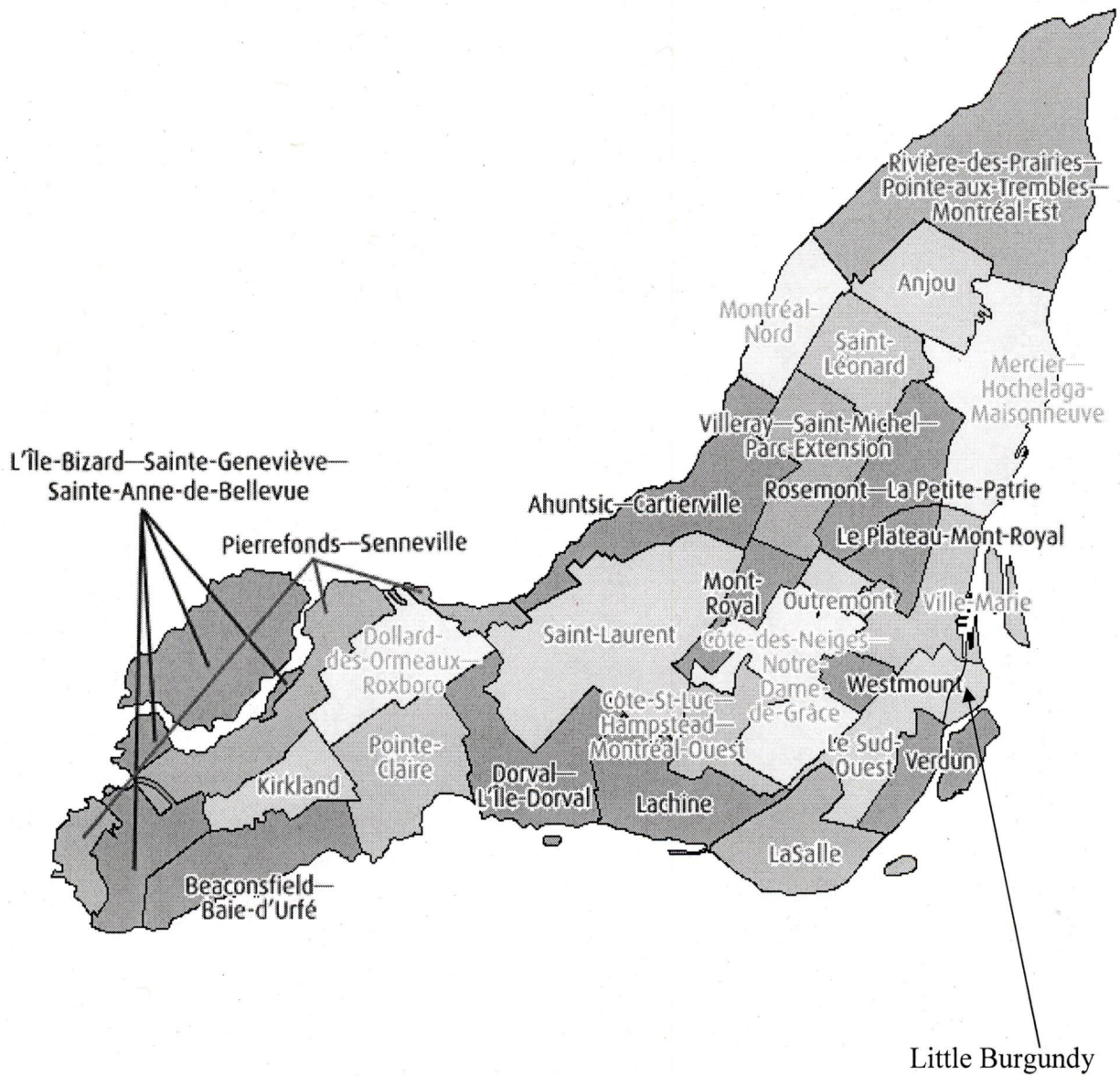
	Black communities		Total population	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total population 15 years and over	109,140		5,832,350	
In the labour force	72,085	66.0%	3,742,485	64.2%
Employed	59,780	54.8%	3,434,265	58.9%
Unemployed	12,305	17.1%	308,220	8.2%
Worked full year full time (2000)	29,665	42.7%	2,035,000	53.4%
Worked part year (2000) full or part time	39,840	57.3%	1,778,090	46.6%
Population 15 years and over without income	10,845	9.9%	326,105	5.6%
Population 15 years and over with income	98,290	90.1	5,506,245	94.4%

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census

Task Force on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Québec Society” MDEIE, Government of Québec, 2006.



**Diagram 2: MAP OF ISLAND OF MONTREAL**



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19. A brief presented to "Consultation on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Quebec Society, Presented by Noel Alexander , Jamaica Association, November 11, 2005  
  
- A set of documents which present a comprehensive picture of the scope of the briefs, studies, and representations made to government agencies by Caribbean leadership and groups over the eighties and nineties. The recommendation of the brief go a long way to summarize the demands consistently placed before various levels of Government by the community, backed by reports, bylaws of various proposed alliances of Blacks in Quebec. Also included are recommendations from the Federal Government's " Equality Now" report, meetings with the premier of Quebec 2002, research documents on the creation of an economic development plan and proposals for the creation of a business incubation Center, Jamaica Association .
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